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personal popularity of President McKinley, were undoubtedly potent elements in the Republican success of 1900. On the other, the effect of the anti-imperialist agitation in stimulating a wide-spread examination of the whole question of the future position of the United States as a world power, and of colonialism as an inevitable accompaniment, is hardly more than alluded to in Mr. Stanwood's pages; nor does he point out the significance of the submergence of traditional notions of liberty and morality, as exhibited in the indifference of the country at large to the conduct of the army in the Philippines and to the demand for Filipino independence.

On the position of President Roosevelt in the history of the United States no writer may yet venture to speak with entire assurance. One lays down Mr. Stanwood's volume, however, with the feeling that the writer has not only failed to grasp, or at least to express, the most obvious significance of Mr. Roosevelt's second administration, but that in one vital respect he has misinterpreted it. The uprising of the people, whether for good or for ill, against political bosses and aggregated wealth was due to social and economic evils deeply imbedded in the structure of American society; and of this revolt Mr. Roosevelt was far less the promoter and inspirer, as Mr. Stanwood seems to imply, than the reiterant mouthpiece and aggressive leader. If Mr. Stanwood sympathizes with or clearly perceives the epoch-making struggle of classes which has grown so portentously since 1896, his pages do not convincingly show it.

In a final chapter on the Evolution of the Presidency, the veteran historian of that institution seeks, by a brief survey of the growth of the appointing power, the veto, and the suggestion and control of legislation, to determine the present position of the office in our constitutional system. His conclusion is that the President has become by evolution a part of the legislative power, and, potentially at least, a dictator. Into his discussion of this interesting constitutional problem we cannot follow him here, further than to commend to students of government and constitutional law both his facts and his conclusions.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Lord Durham's Report of the Affairs of British North America.

Edited with an introduction by Sir C. P. LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

In three volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. Pp. vi, 335; 339; iv, 380.)

THE appearance of a thoroughly complete and well-annotated edition of Lord Durham's classic report is particularly appropriate at a time when the British Dominions are manifesting a new interest in the question of the relation between the mother-land and the overseas possessions. Modern British colonial policy accepts two fundamental conditions—the necessity of colonial autonomy and the necessity of the ultimate supremacy of the government of the United Kingdom. The first of these conditions was not always recognized. It is as the apostle

of colonial self-government that Lord Durham lives in history and it is in the *Report on the Affairs of British North America* that his doctrines of colonial administration are proclaimed.

His experience at the Colonial Office and his familiarity with the sources of Canadian history have made Sir Charles Lucas thoroughly conversant with the subject-matter of this important document. The work is divided into three volumes—the first an historical introduction with an analysis and criticism of the report, the second, the report proper, and the third, the very valuable appendixes to the report together with the more important despatches and Charles Buller's sketch of Lord Durham's mission, hitherto unpublished.

The immediate occasion of Lord Durham's appointment as High Commissioner of the British North American Provinces was the insurrection of 1837 and though his inquiries included other subjects, they were more especially directed to that particular affair. Both Upper and Lower Canada presented the spectacle of a very large section of the community at least manifestly dissatisfied with the existing administration, if not in active revolt against its authority. There was an apparent agreement between the parties of reform—as the opponents of the administrations were known—in demanding the introduction of the principle of responsible government. But this seeming agreement served only to obscure fundamental differences.

The problem in Lower Canada, as Lord Durham clearly perceived, was essentially racial but aggravated by the "continued inconsistency of British policy" and the "errors and vacillations of Government". The division of Quebec in 1791 Lord Durham considered as a serious error because, while forming one community in which French customs should predominate, it at the same time encouraged English immigration. "The Province should have been set apart to be wholly French if it was not to be rendered completely English." With this criticism Sir Charles Lucas takes issue. Apart from the question of Lord Durham's estimate of the French Canadians, it is true that the British government was guilty of frequent vacillations which undoubtedly tended to complicate the Canadian situation. The constitutional provisions of the Act of 1791 were condemned by Lord Durham because they introduced into government the principle of representation but withheld the principle of the responsibility of the executive which he considered to be a necessary complement. The editor defends the action of Pitt on the ground that the act was intended as a temporary remedy. While this is doubtless true it must also be admitted that the Constitutional Act did contain contradictory principles of government which must sooner or later come into open conflict. The granting of representative government in 1791 was premature, and the discussion in the legislature of issues which were reducible in most cases to racial diversities only aggravated the existing ill feeling. Further, the division of the province tended to set one government against the other by creating jealousies which, as in later years, very seriously embarrassed the government of Upper Canada.

The Executive and Legislative councils were the bulwark of English influence and with them the governors, with few exceptions, became allied. Racial factions thus became converted into political parties and the governor was forced to assume the leadership of the party of the administration which in Lower Canada was hopelessly in the minority. In the Lower Province Papineau and the French Canadian party advocated the introduction of the principle of responsible government for the purpose of controlling the administration and securing the supremacy of the French Canadian nationality, while in Upper Canada the reform party, under Mackenzie, advocated reform for the purpose of improving the administration.

The remedy proposed by Lord Durham was, in brief, the partial introduction of responsible government and, as a necessary prelude to this, the reunion of the provinces. The idea of local responsibility in the administration of a dependency had hitherto been held to be inconsistent with the supremacy of the crown. In the sphere of government Lord Durham distinguished between affairs of purely colonial concern and those affecting imperial interests, and boldly advocated granting self-government in matters in which the colony alone was interested. His declaration on this occasion marks the dawn of a new era in colonial administration. The history of colonial government since this time has been the story of the gradual extension of the conventional circle which separated colonial from imperial interests until now when the question of imperial defense is uppermost it has become patent that there are no problems of empire which are not concerns of the self-governing dominions.

Lord Durham's arguments in favor of union may be admitted without subscribing to his estimate of the French Canadian people. He did not know French Canada. As a Radical he disapproved of the reactionary policy of the French Canadian party in the legislature; as an Imperialist he saw no hope for the future but in a uniform British nationality. Were any advantage to have been gained it would have been quite impossible at that time to have denationalized French Canada.

In the brief appendix to the introductory volume a parallel is drawn between the situation in Lower Canada and that in modern Ireland and the conclusion is reached that, in so far as any inference can be drawn, Lord Durham would not have recommended Home Rule for Ireland. In this bit of special pleading the editor seems to underestimate the significance of the positive content of Lord Durham's recommendation of the principle of self-government. It would seem to have been Lord Durham's view that there could be no permanent basis of empire short of granting local autonomy in matters of local concern. The problem of nationalism connects Ireland and French Canada and if any inference can be drawn it is from Lord Durham's failure to recognize the value and the strength of nationality. In this respect Lord Elgin proved a truer prophet than Lord Durham.

The work of the editor has on the whole been faithfully performed.

He frequently, however, conveys the impression that he holds a brief for Downing Street. His attitude is not as critical as it could well afford to be. British colonial policy has succeeded amidst a series of brilliant blunders. The glory of its later achievements need not blind the student to the errors of its earlier ways. These volumes, however, constitute a most important contribution to the history of Canada and of British Imperial relations and will doubtless remain for many years the standard work on Lord Durham's *Report*.

True Tales of Arctic Heroism in the New World. By A. W. GREELY, Major-General, U. S. Army. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Pp. xii, 385.)

GENERAL GREELY'S book makes no particular appeal to the scholar or the student of Arctic exploration. It is designed rather to put before American youth, in readable and at the same time strictly accurate form, the "deeds of daring, the devotion to duty, and the self-abnegation which have so often illumined the stirring annals of exploration in arctic America". This is not to say, however, that these *True Tales* are not worthy of the attention of more mature readers. It is true that the matter of the book is, for the most part, already familiar to those whose taste leads them into the field of arctic literature; or perhaps it is nearer the truth to say that it would be familiar to many of us, were it not for the fact that as often as not we read these narratives more for the sake of the light they throw upon the historic search for the North Pole, or the more ancient quest of the Northwest Passage, than for their worth as human documents. It is as human documents that General Greely has studied the classic works of Franklin and McClintock, Kane, Rae, and Richardson, M'Clure, Ross, and many others; and he has managed to extract and bring together in a volume of 385 pages a wonderful collection of stories, related generally in the simple, modest, and most effective language of the actors themselves, revealing the heroism and self-sacrifice that runs like a golden thread through the history of arctic exploration. Perhaps none of these tales of dauntless courage and perseverance is more impressive than that of Mylius-Erichsen and Hagen, of the Danish expedition of 1905, and their Inuit dog-driver, Jörgen Brönlund. The Danish explorers had left their ship the *Danmark* on the eastern coast of Greenland, and had set forth with dog-sleds to complete the survey of Hazen Land, now Peary Land—the most northerly land of the globe. Their equipment had been based on a serious misapprehension of the distance, but when this became apparent the explorers, thinking only of the importance of their task, determined to complete it at all hazards. They finally completed their surveys with Peary's at Navy Cliff, but the game they had hoped for failed them, and the ship lay 560 miles to the south. They could face death, but not the failure of their expedition. Their records must be got somehow to the nearest depot, on Lambert Land; and the only possible route was over the terrible glacial ice-cap. En-